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FROM A

FREE CITIZEN

OF

DUBLIN,

TO A

FREEHOLDER

IN THE

County of *ARMAGH.*

The SECOND EDITION Amended.

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PRINTED in the YEAR, MDCCLIII.

[Price Two-pence.]

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FROM A

Free Citizen of DUBLIN,

TO A

FREEHOLDER in the County of ARMAGH.

Dear FRANK,

I Understand that a Seat in Parliament is open for your County, and that two Gentlemen of Family and Fortune have already offered themselves as Candidates.

We of this City, my Friend, have been largely instructed in Matters of Election, and the Spirit, Independence, and Love of our Country,

which we lately proved upon a like Occaſion, give us a kind of Right to inform others, in a Buſineſs, that in ſome Meaſure concerns ourſelves, and which indeed concerns the Kingdom in general.

A

We hear that ſomething of this Spirit has reached to *Cark* and *Derry*, and hope that in time it may give new Life to the whole Nation: But it is not, till very lately, that we had any Notion of what was meant by the Words *Voter* or *Member*, *Repreſentative* or *Repreſented*.

The largeſt Intereſt, my dear *Frank*, uſed always to be ſtitch'd to the largeſt Eſtate, and no ſober Man would attempt to oppoſe a Candidate who was able to make a whole County drunk.

Our Actions in this Point were agreeable to our Expectations. We looked for nothing further than that our *Knight* ſhould do Honour to his County by his fine Liveries in Town; that perhaps he might get a Wink or a Dinner from the great Man; that he might join in ſending a little Money to his Majeſty, God bleſs him; and have the Credit of helping to enact ſomething about a Hare or a wild Duck, as the Preſervation of the Game was the only kind of Preſervation we expected at his Hands.

If he was able to compaſs theſe Cardinal Points, the Bumpering his Health made Many ſick and ſenſeleſs; he was met on his Return by a grand Cavalcade of Freeholders; he thenceforth had a

Right

Right to lead his Company in a Fox-Chace through all the Corn and Fences of the County; at 'Size and Seſſion he was the Grand Man of the Grand Jury; where all Bills againſt his Tenants were ſure to be found *ignoramus*; and from this great Lead in his Country he might in Time grow ſo conſiderable as that the Government might give him a Hand—in the making of an Exciſeman.

That this has been the Caſe no Man can doubt, but whether it ought to be the Caſe—that is the Queſtion.

In order therefore to anſwer it, I will ſum up to you a few of thoſe Things that have lately been told us, ſuch indeed as would make a bleſſed Alteration in Affairs, if half of them were allowed to be as true, as they are ſtrange.

It is ſaid, that our Conſtitution is the beſt that ever was in the World; that we are all free Men by Nature and by Law, and that no one can hurt Us in our Perſon, or our Properties, but by our own Fault—and thus it is made out.

The Houſe of Parliament is intended to contain the whole Nation, and the only Buſineſs that the Nation has there, is to make the very Laws by which they chuſe to be governed, and to conſult on all the Meaſures that may be taken for their own Advantage.

But as ſo many Thouſands of People would make too great a Crowd and Confuſion in one

Houſe, every Man in every Burrough and County throughout the Kingdom has a Right to name his Truſtee in Parliament, by whoſe Mouth he chuſes to ſpeak, and by whoſe Perſon he chuſes to act for his own Benefit.

Further, when this Truſtee is accordingly choſen, his Electors have ſtill a Right to adviſe and direct him in whatever concerns their general Emolument; and if he ſhall do or conſent to any Thing contrary to their Intereſts, if he neglects to liſten to ſuch Advice, or refuſes to be guided by ſuch Direction, he proves as great a Knave as any other Truſtee, who ſhould pervert the Effects, or Fortune, entruſted to his Hands, to Purpoſes againſt the Intereſt or Deſire of the Owner.

Thus every free Voter is truly and effectually a Parliament-Man, who thinks, ſpeaks, and acts in the Perſon of his Repreſentative; which Repreſentative, if honeſtly choſen, will always think and act for You, as You would do for Yourſelves.

This, my good Friend, is a very great Power and Privilege, if you aſk me, wherein it conſiſts? I will tell you.

Thoſe Men, called Members of Parliament, have laid into their Hands, our Lives, our Liberties, our Rights, our Poſſeſſions, all the Concerns of our Families, our Country, and our Poſterity; and this you may well think is no ſmall Truſt.

They

They make and unmake Laws, they tax and acquit, they looſe and bind at Pleaſure.

When they are honeſtly choſen, they are the moſt auguſt and reſpectful Body in the Univerſe, the Elect of all Men, the exalted of all the People; and the loweſt Member of ſuch a venerable Houſe carries in his own Perſon the Importance and Happineſs of a whole Nation.

Such a Parliament will feel and contrive for this their Country, with the ſame Tenderneſs, and with the ſame Forecaſt, that your Head would feel and contrive for every Part of your Body; and this in truth is not the Breadth of a Hair beyond their Duty; it is the only End and Purpoſe for which they were intended by our wiſe Forefathers to be choſen.

Throughout this large Kingdom, there is nothing too high or too low for their Inquiry or Redreſs. All our Juſtices, Judges, Magiſtrates, all public and private Concerns lie within their great Inquiſition. Inſomuch that if any Good is effected, theirs ought to be the Praiſe; if any Evil is perpetrated, theirs ought to be the Blame.

As they form a great Council for the Nation which they themſelves repreſent, they have alſo the laying on and diſpoſing of all public Monies, by which they have the Power to execute whatever their Wiſdom ſhall deviſe.

With

With theſe Funds, after defraying all national and neceſſary Demands, they are enabled to make us a virtuous People, by promoting true Religion and Piety, and by enforcing all Laws, and forwarding all Means for the Suppreſſion of Vice, and Reformation of Manners, that we may become good Subjects by being made good Men. They are alſo enabled to make us wiſe, by their Encouragement of true Knowledge and Science among us, by preferring Genius, rewarding Invention, and by importing and improving all Arts throughout this Nation. They are alſo enabled to make us wealthy, by the Propagation of Manufactures, and the Employment of Induſtry; by the Enlargement of our Trade, the reclaiming of our Deſarts, the Culture of our Lands; by the Plantation of Timber, the opening of Mines, the Navigation of Rivers; in ſhort, they are enabled, *whenever they pleaſe*, to make us a good, a proſperous, and a happy Nation.

Bnt what Sort of Members, my Friend, do you think are moſt likely to ſet about this great and glorious Work? Such as the *Electors* are, ſuch will be the *Elected*; they are the Offſpring of our Choice, the Children of us their Parents, the Fruit of us their Tree. If we have got the P——x, will they be chaſte and healthy? if we are a Bundle of Brambles can we yield choice Grapes?

No, *Frank*, if it ſhall ever happen that the Electors of *Ireland* ſhould be bribed by Intereſt, or Brow-beaten by Power to ſend Men of unworthy

worthy Principles into Parliament, without any Spirit of Prophecy, I will tell you the Conſequence.

As great as I have ſhewn you their Power is for doing Good, juſt ſo great will be their Power for the compaſſing of Evil. As they will not thank You for Voices that were bought or compelled, they will hold themſelves diſcharged of all Truſts and Obligations. They will think themſelves intitled to a Reimburſement of the Sums they laid out in your Proſtitution, at the Expence of Yourſelves your Country and your Poſterity. Thus ſevered from all public Truſt and Connection, Self-intereſt will be the only Motive of their Aims and their Actions. All will run into Party, Faction and Cabal, as private Luſts ſhall prompt, or private Proſpects ſhall lead. The ſacred Regard to Truth, the inviolable Attachment to Juſtice will never ſo much as enter into any Queſtion debated. All the public Acts of ſuch a Parliament will really be no other than ſecret Jobbs, which particular Members may obtain by their Intereſt or Addreſs. Corruption and Immorality will range without Reſtraint. Art, Culture and Manufacture will be left to a future *Madden*, if ſuch may be produced in a future Age. And it will be owing to the Goodneſs of our King and his Miniſtry, if We, our Country, and our Poſterity, ſhall not be ſold into Slavery.

And now, Friend, what think you of theſe two Pictures? the One of a chaſte and good, the other of a debauched and wicked Parliament.

ment. In the Firſt you ſee whatever can contribute to make a People flouriſhing in this World and bleſſed in the next; in the ſecond, you ſee whatever can contribute to make a People miſerable here, and accurſed hereafter. And all this depends upon the Honeſty of Electors, who firſt and laſt, from the Beginning to the End, are anſwerable for every Evil and Miſcarriage that ſhall happen in or to this Country.

Indeed, *Frank*, the Vote of every ſingle Elector is a moſt ſolemn and ſacred Thing; he holds, as it were, a whole Kingdom in his Hand, and idly, raſhly, or wickedly to transfer a Truſt of ſuch Importance, is the baſeſt and moſt pernicious of all Villainies.

It can be no Excuſe for any Voter to ſay, that his Voice is but ſingle, and therefore of little Weight or Signification, it is ſurely of ſingle Voices that Elections are compounded, and it is as ſure that the whole Intereſt of *Ireland* reſts thereon.

Though Cuſtom and Example may give Countenance to vile Actions, they cannot alter the Nature of Things; and lightly as the Freeholder may eſteem of his Truſt, he is as fearfully accountable to GOD ALMIGHTY for the Proſtitution of his Vote, as for any other Kind of Wickedneſs and Perfidy.

What I here call Proſtitution does not however include all Kinds of Byaſs or Influence. Perhaps there are no two Men upon Earth in the favour

vour of one of whom you would not at firſt Sight be prejudiced preferable to the Other. There are alſo natural and juſt Prejudicies, ſuch as Kindred, Friendſhip, Gratitude for Benefits received, and the Recommendation of Perſons on whoſe Judgment and Integrity you depend: In all theſe Inſtances a Man may be deceived by viewing the Merits of thoſe he regards in too favourable a Light, and ſo far as he is deceived, juſt ſo far is he excuſable. But, on any Conſideration, knowingly, and wilfully, to vote for one Candidate while he thinks another more likely to ſerve his Country; this is a Wickedneſs and Treachery, for which no Name is found that can equal the Guilt.

But how, you will ſay, ſhall ſimple Country-Folk and Farmers judge of the deep Talents requiſite for giving Laws to a Nation? I will tell you, *Frank*, by the plaineſt Rule in the World—*The beſt Man will always be the beſt Law-maker.*

There is nothing ſo dangerous, ſo deſtructive to Society, as great Talents exerted to evil Purpoſes. Men who boaſt of ſuch Advantages are generally tempted to ſhew their Powers by liſting under the Banner that is oppoſite to Truth, as our Lawyers are always found to be moſt eloquent in the worſt Cauſes.

But Truth wants no Aſſiſtance from Flouriſh or Figure; and whatever is right, is as evident as it is lovely to every Eye that ſeeks for no other Object.

I will

I will give you a Proof of this out of a famous Hiſtory called *Don Quixote*.

Don Quixote, and *Sancho* his Squire, the Firſt reputed a Madman, the Second a Fool, ſet out together to ſeek their Fortunes. In One Talents are wanting, in the Other they are diſordered; but the Author ſuppoſes Both of them to be well-meaning Men, and accordingly conducts his Hiſtory with Nature and Propriety. After many Adventures they are entertained by a certain Prince who takes much Delight in their Pranks and Fooleries; and for his greater Amuſement he conſtitutes honeſt *Sancho* his Governour in Chief of the Iſland of *Barataria*. Our two Adventurers look upon this Preferment as containing no more of Mockery or Farce than any other of the Scepters that are under the Sun, and accordingly the Knight inſtructs his Squire in many ſtrange Meaſures for Rule and good Government. *Sancho* departs; he aſſumes his Dignity; he is open to all Complaints; he hears all Pleadings; he decides all Cauſes; he examines former Inſtitutes; he forms new Rules; he promulges new Laws.

I ſhould be glad now to know what Notion you have of a Kingdom ſo governed? All reverſed, all aſtray, and confounded, no doubt. Never was there a Man more miſtaken.——This *Sancho* had a good Heart, and that fulfilled all the Deficiencies of his Underſtanding; he meant whatever was Right, and therefore diſcerned it.

it. From the Creation of the World to the preſent Age, perhaps there never was a Kingdom ſo wiſely ordered, ſo equally adminiſtred, and ſo graciouſly ruled. The Point of the Jeſt was turned upon the Joker; the imaginary Subſtitute proved himſelf more worthy of the Scepter than the real Prince; and his Laws were recorded in Letters of Gold, and are ſaid to be extant at this Day.—Would you deſire a better P——t than One compoſed of ſuch *Knights* and *Squires?*

I am very far, however, from intending to apply the Characters of Madneſs or Folly to either of your Candidates; for I hear and believe that Both of Them are young Men of Ingenuity and Learning. But I have recited this Story as a Proof of the old Proverb that, *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*, and that goodneſs is wiſer and ſooner attains its Purpoſe, than all the other Talents of the Children of Men.

As I have already given you this great and poſitive Mark of Goodneſs for which any Candidate, who is thereby diſtinguiſhed, ought therefore to be preferred to all Competitors: I will alſo ſubjoin a few negative Qualities, by which you may readily diſcover, what ſort of Men you ought to avoid.

No Perſuaſions, no Recommendations, no Obligations whatever, ought to prevail for your Voice in favour of any Man, who is known to be any way debauched in his Morals: For He, who is detached from the Intereſts of his own

Soul,

Soul, can never be truly attached to the Intereſts of his Country.

Be further wary how you vote for any Candidate, who, by Family, Education, Alliance, or otherwiſe, is ſuſpected of Principles, that claſh with thoſe ſacred or civil Inſtitutions of which our preſent bleſſed Eſtabliſhment is built: leſt, inſtead of introducing freſh Cement to the Structure, you ſhould happen to introduce a Miner to ſap.

Further yet, I warn You and your Brother Freeholders, againſt any Candidate who has been noted for Diſtance or Pride. For the preſent, indeed, he may graciouſly aſſume all the neceſſary Affectations of Humbleneſs and Popularity; but you never can have any firm or cloſe Connection with a Man, who conceives that the great Merits of his Fortune or Perſon have rightly exalted him above the Level of his Conſtituents.

Believe me, good Friend, that ſuch a One will look on your Votes, as a *Debt to his Dignity*, a Matter of *due Claim*, of *hereditary Right*; he will therefore afford you ſhallow Thanks for your Voices; and he who holds himſelf little obliged, will not be over ſanguine or ſolicitous in Returns.

But will a higher Exaltation make him humbler? When you go to adviſe, to conſult with his *Grandeur*, to propoſe any Benefit for your Country or County, to lay open any Grievance, to apply for any Redreſs, how will you approach his *Diſtance*? how will you ſoften his *Reſerve*?

O—

O— your being Hail-fellow at *Armagh* will do the Buſineſs, the Friendſhip you contracted there will always give you free Acceſs.

Alas! honeſt *Frank*, Intimacies at Elections are like Intimacies at *Bath*, and the Parliament is like *London*, where Figure and Fortune will acknowledge You no more.

When I am ſufficiently acquainted with the Characters of your two Candidates, you may poſſibly hear further from,

DEAR FRIEND,

Your, &c.

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